

# Socialist Voice

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# Union support builds for CUPW

## Inco strikers back embattled postal workers

By John Steele

TORONTO—"We need a new definition of solidarity to win," Jean-Claude Parrot, president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, told an enthusiastic rally of 450 trade unionists and supporters here January 27. "The days of rhetoric are over. . . . Every union should be prepared for mass picketing if requested by any other union."

Active, militant union solidarity. This was the theme of the rally and demonstration called by the Toronto CUPW local to protest the firing of five members and the suspension of 23 others for activity during last fall's postal strike.

Speakers at the rally included Dave Patterson, president of the United Steelworkers Local 6500 on strike against the giant Inco corporation; Dan Heap, a Toronto NDP alderman; and Sam Fox, president of the Labor Council of Metropolitan Toronto.

The rally expressed an urgent tone absent from union meetings over the past period. The need for active solidarity behind the postal workers and all workers currently engaged in struggles, like the Inco workers or the Ontario

community college staff support workers, was stressed time and time again.

Parrot, who along with other top CUPW leaders faces possible jail terms as a result of their defiance of parliamentary strike breaking, explained how the federal government's Bill C-22 would turn CUPW leaders into "messenger boys" for Trudeau, with the task of telling the membership what they could not bargain for. "This fundamental fight to defend our right to negotiate," he said.

"Each struggle is a test for all of us," Parrot explained, hammering away at the need for solidarity among all workers in struggle. "If we are not able to support our brothers and sisters, then the employers will be encouraged. . . . Through our Program of Action we intend to increase our participation in the struggles of other workers."

"Solidarity is more than a word," said USW Local 6500 president Dave Patterson, who outlined the issues in the strike by Sudbury nickel miners and smelter workers against Inco. "The fight of CUPW, the Toronto Transit workers, and OPSEU [which represents the college sup-

port staff strikers] have similarities. These are the days of attempts by the bosses to gut union contracts and impose yellow dog agreements. . . . On October 14 we tried to prove a point and we did it. It takes guts to do things like this, but we have no choice."

Patterson reaffirmed the determination of the Sudbury miners to stand up to Inco. "They won't break our bargaining committee or our local," he said.

"We are not in ordinary times," said Alderman Dan Heap, a member of the NDP and the Canadian Paperworkers Union. "We are dealing with a well-planned policy of attacking the labor movement in order to destroy it."

Postmaster General Gilles Lamontagne's threat to fire 500 postal workers is an attack on all workers who want to bargain seriously and use their right to strike, Heap charged. "Now is the time to stand up with the postal workers," he said.

Sam Fox promised the labor council's support to CUPW. "The cause of the postal workers is just," he said. "Their strike was legitimate."

Continued on page 4



# 'The only power they understand'

By Jackie Larkin

Across Canada, plans are well under way for International Women's Day. Last year more than 8,000 women mobilized on March 8 throughout Quebec and English Canada. While Quebecois women have taken to the streets on this day since the early 1970s, last year was the first time that actions occurred in most regions in English Canada.

It was a big step forward for the women's movement. Not only was it bi-national in scope, but it was the first highly visible mobilization of English-Canadian feminists and their supporters since the movement went into a period of lull during the mid-1970s.

The demonstrations and rallies showed clearly the changes that have occurred in the women's movement. For the first time, a small but significant number of union women, often in their own contingents, participated in a major action for women's rights. These first signs of a growing radicalization of working women signal the beginnings of the mass proletarian women's movement that will be built in coming years. Such a movement is crucial to leading a truly effective struggle for the liberation of women and winning the support of the mass organizations of the working class.

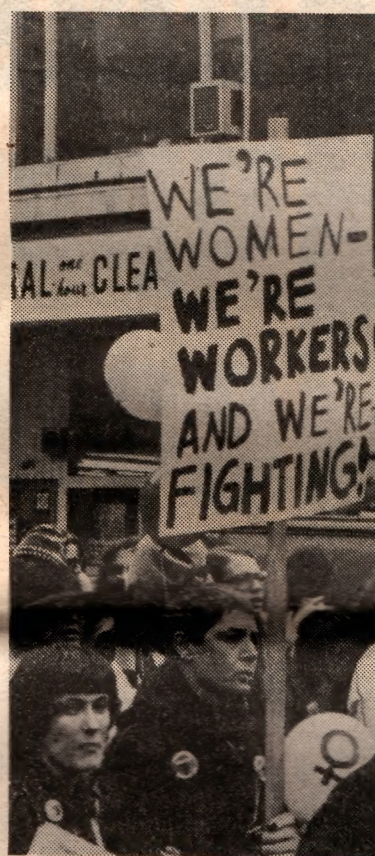
The issues which sparked the mobilization last year are today posed even more acutely. The austerity drive has deepened, increasing already unacceptable unemployment rates among women. Discriminatory UIC regulations and further social service cuts make women the front line victims of the capitalists' economic difficulties. The government's mounting offensive against the public sector—in the form of new wage controls and limitation of the right to strike—are aimed directly at the largest concentrations of women workers.

Capitalism's economic difficulties and the accompanying right-wing reaction have led to an escalated attack on the right of women to abortion and contraception. The "right-to-life" forces have been quietly lobbying and not so quietly fighting for control of hospital boards, and mobilizing in provincial election campaigns. We can expect a massive initiative by these macabre forces in the coming federal election.

Hand in hand with this reactionary attack on the few gains

that women have made is the vicious campaign against gays and lesbians led by Renaissance Canada and Anita Bryant. Police forces raided the gay newspaper *Body Politic*, the Barracks club in Toronto and the Truxx bar in Montreal.

What kind of response has this provoked within the women's movement? In English Canada, the past year has witnessed some rather significant developments. In Toronto and Edmonton, new



women's liberation groups were established as a result of the success of last year's March 8.

In Vancouver the women's movement successfully countered the attempt by the "pro-life" forces to win control of the hospital boards in the city. Women's organizations in a number of cities are preparing for the International Day of Action for Abortion, Contraception, and Against Forced Sterilization.

Militant Reclaim the Night marches have expressed the refusal of women to accept the daily violence with which we are threatened.

The most significant developments have occurred among working women. While the efforts to unionize women led by the bankworkers' organizing drive (SORWUC) received a setback in the past year, on other

fronts the struggle has been moving ahead. There has been a small explosion of militant strikes by unionized women.

Often these strikes have been small and they have had to fight hard for support from the labor movement. But in almost all cases the workers have exhibited a powerful determination to fight against considerable odds, and a growing understanding of the relationship between their class exploitation and their specific oppression as women.

The struggles by UAW women at Fleck, the CUPE banknote workers in Ottawa, the public health nurses in Toronto, the Parkland nursing home workers in Edmonton, the York University staff workers, and the Puretex textile workers in Toronto are some of the most significant. Among the demands: better wages, first contracts, equal pay, and maternity leave.

The women workers in Steelworkers Local 6500 in Sudbury, reduced to 35 in number after the recent layoffs, have had an impact far greater than their numbers in winning that local to support their demands. Similarly, the wives of Inco workers have defiantly organized in support of the strike. In Toronto the only rally in support of the Inco workers was organized by the women's movement, by activists inside and outside the unions.

In almost every region of English Canada, women within the union movement are building union women's committees and cross-union formations, such as Organized Working Women (OWW) in Toronto, to fight more effectively for their needs within the union movement.

This year's March 8 must be an expression of these developments. This year there can be 20,000 of us in the streets. High priority should be placed on winning participation by union women, especially those who fought for their rights in the last months and who received support from the rest of the women's movement. Support to their struggles should be a real focus for March 8th actions.

And the themes of this day of unity must recognize the real character of the attack on women: For the right of all women to a job at union wages. We refuse to be the last hired and the first fired. We refuse to be confined to low paid, non-unionized job ghettos.

For the expansion of social services, especially childcare. We refuse the cuts which place the burden on us.

For free abortion and contraception on demand. We refuse the organized attempts by the state, the church, and the right wing to control our bodies.

For the right of lesbians and gays to love whom they choose. We refuse to allow the forces that be to isolate and victimize our most oppressed sisters.

Into the streets with all our forces—it's the only power they understand.

## Int'l. action for abortion rights set for March 31



May 1977, Vincennes, France. Five thousand women attended the largest ever European-wide feminist conference. That mass gathering called for the launching of an international campaign to maintain and extend the gains made by women in wresting control of their fertility from the state and church.

The International Campaign for Abortion Rights (ICAR) is building in dozens of countries for an International Day of Action on March 31, 1979.

Actions are already planned on this day in B.C., Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Quebec.

The growing restriction on abortion access and the highly organized offensive by "right-to-

life" forces in the recent Saskatchewan elections and in the struggle for control of the Vancouver hospital boards have made it very clear that our limited gains are as threatened here as they are everywhere else in the world.

March 31 will be the first truly international action for abortion and contraception and against forced sterilization. The women's movement in English Canada must join hands with sisters in Quebec and throughout the world to show that it too is willing to fight back.

Below is a brief report from the recent ICAR coordinating meeting held in Paris.

Attending the meeting as delegates or observers were women from Spain, Italy, Belgium, West Germany, France, and Switzerland, as well as many activists from the Latin American women's groups that exist in various European countries. In addition, since the September coordinating meeting feminist groups in Hong Kong, Israel, Norway, Quebec, Australia, Puerto Rico, and Colombia have made contact with the committee.

In Colombia, for example, a national meeting was held recently to launch a campaign for abortion and contraception rights, and against forced sterilization.

Demonstrations have been scheduled for March 31, the International Day of Action, in a series of cities in Quebec and Australia, as well as on the U.S. east coast. In the Netherlands, 10,000 persons attended a rally in November organized by the movement "A woman's will, a woman's right" to protest a law that prohibits foreigners from going to that country for abortions.

In the discussion on the nature of the campaign, almost all the women present agreed on the need for a mass campaign based on the feminist movements but seeking to involve all the political, union, and student organ-

izations that might support it.

One of the best examples of what can be done within the labor movement was in Great Britain, where a conference on abortion was just held, organized by the National Abortion Campaign (NAC) and the LARC (a similar committee that works within the Labor Party). Four hundred trade union delegates, both women and men, attended the conference, which was supported by a dozen national unions as well as many locals and shop stewards' committees.

In supporting the NAC's efforts to open neighborhood clinics where abortions can be performed using the vacuum aspirator method, and in throwing its support to the International Day of Action in March, the conference laid the basis for a broad campaign throughout the English trade-union movement.

Belgian women described the campaign in their country in response to a fresh outbreak of repression in recent weeks directed against everyone involved in the struggle for abortion on demand. (There have been a series of raids and some clinics have been closed down.) A manifesto calling for decriminalization of abortion has already won the support of the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the French-language trade union federation, and some left-wing Christians. Thanks to this very broad mobilization, which was initiated by the women's movement, there will no doubt be a sympathetic hearing for the local "tribunals" that the abortion committees are organizing in various cities in February as part of the preparation for the national demonstration to be held March 31.

The campaign must now be taken up in every country. We must demonstrate the power that women can exert when they struggle for the right to choose. Already plans are well under way. Buttons have been produced in French and English. The international poster will soon be ready. And a call is circulating.

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# U.K. strikers defy 'Social Contract'

By Jim Upton

Speaking to the British House of Commons January 16, a shaken Prime Minister James Callaghan said he agreed with Conservative leader Margaret Thatcher that the "balance of power" between British employers and workers had shifted significantly in favor of the latter.

Callaghan's comments reflected the impact of strikes by truck drivers, municipal and health workers, and train engineers which have created the most serious crisis to date for the Labor government.

For more than three years British workers have been saddled with so-called voluntary 5 percent wage guidelines, devised by the procapitalist Labor government. Now they're saying clearly they've had enough.

Thousands of Scottish truck drivers began a wildcat strike on January 4 to back their demands for a 22 percent pay raise and a shorter workweek. The walkout quickly spread to England and Northern Ireland. On January 11, the huge Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) gave its official support and the strike rapidly expanded to include 100,000 drivers.

Their main demand was \$154 for a 35-hour week in place of the present \$125 for 40 hours work.

The drivers strike has won broad sympathy from other workers. Squads of striking drivers set up picket lines at the docks, factories, and businesses where they normally pick up and deliver goods. Dock workers and other unionists refused to cross the lines, thus tying up much of Britain's import-export trade, reducing the flow of foodstuffs, and limiting the supply of raw materials for industry.

The strike has had a serious impact on the British economy. By

## Cassiar Victory

By Greg Gigg

VANCOUVER—A four-month strike at the Cassiar Asbestos Corporation mine in the isolated northern B.C. community of Cassiar has ended in partial victory for 650 members of the United Steelworkers (USWA) Locals 8449 and 6536.

Like Inco at Sudbury, Cassiar Asbestos originally put forward a take-back contract. The Steelworkers struck after Cassiar proposed a wage freeze for office and technical workers, along with wage cuts for new employees in some classifications. The production local was offered 9 percent over two years.

Refusing to accept such a contract, the Steelworkers stood firm while the national and regional officers offered only limited financial support and were generally sceptical about what could be done.

The settlement ratified on January 13 provides for a 30-month contract with a total package increase of 29 percent, including a 21 percent wage hike for production workers. Office and technical workers won an 18 percent package, including 14 percent in wages.

Glen Billingsley, president of the production and maintenance local, said: "Most of the people I've talked to figure that the strike was well worth the time."



Pickets check driver's papers. Strikers are solid despite barrage of antistrike propaganda in business press.

the fourth week of the walkout many employers were reported to have met the drivers' pay demands in an effort to end the strike.

On January 22, in the midst of the truckers' strike, 1.5 million members of the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE) participated in the biggest work stoppage since the general strike of 1926. After a rally at Hyde Park, 30,000 workers marched on Parliament to back their demands.

Representing many of the lowest-paid workers in the public sector, NUPE is seeking a minimum wage of \$144 for a 35-hour week—a pay boost of more than 40 percent for some workers. The government is offering an 8 percent raise.

Train engineers seeking a 10 percent "responsibility" pay bonus also organized a series of one-day national strikes which crippled much of Britain's transportation system.

And looming in the background are the powerful coal miners, now seeking a 40 percent wage increase. Their successful strike in 1974 stopped supplies to power stations, cut light and heat, reduced industry to a three day week, and led to the defeat of the Tory government.

### Defy Labor government

Since replacing the Tories in 1974, the Labor government has attempted to blame wage increases for Britain's high rate of inflation. It has tried to hide the fact that the central factors fueling inflation are not wage increases but the devaluation of the pound, the declining productivity of British industry owing to its outmoded plant and machinery, and the drive by business to boost profits through charging higher prices.

In pursuing the drive against wages, the government has used its influence in the working class to gain the support of union leaders in holding down wages. The result has been disastrous for British workers. Between 1976 and 1977 real wages declined 12.5 percent and since 1974 public sector workers have suffered a reduction in real wages of up to 30 percent.

However the government's 5 percent pay ceiling, which is well below the rate of inflation, has run into opposition within the Labor party itself. At the party's national conference last October, delegates led by representatives

from unions involved in a major strike at 22 Ford plants across Britain, rejected the 5 percent limit or "any wage restraint" by a 2 to 1 margin.

Despite Callaghan's attempt to ignore the conference's decision, the victory of the Ford workers a few weeks later seriously undermined the government's pay guidelines. The 17 percent hike won at Ford inspired other workers to challenge the government's wage ceiling.

### Dilemma for ruling class

The ruling class in Britain, the Labor government, and the trade union leadership are now facing a serious dilemma.

After the miners strike in 1974 demonstrated the inability of the Tory government to shackle the unions, the ruling class pinned its hopes on the Labor party leaders. It was expected that Labor's close ties with the trade union tops would enable it to win their collaboration in implementing a "Social Contract" that could hold down wages and boost profits.

While the Labor government and the union leaders have been able to carry off such a policy for the past four years, a new factor has now entered the scene which

makes that course much more difficult to pursue—the fighting spirit and militancy of the British working class.

The major strikes which have punctured the government's 5 percent ceiling have begun as wildcat actions. In the case of both the Ford workers and the truck drivers, the leadership of Britain's largest union, the TGWU, was unable to prevent the walkouts from occurring or to control them after they began.

The January 28 issue of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* reported that while the truckers' strike began as a wildcat, "It was made official, Mr. Moss Evans [general secretary of the TGWU] told the prime minister, so that it could be brought under the control of the union. Even so, a week later, the strike was still out of control and it was unclear whether the officer in charge of the dispute... was unwilling or merely unable to get his members to call off their secondary picketing as the union's (ruling?) executive committee had ordered."

The incapacity of the Labor government and the union leaders to prevent or control the recent wave of strikes has now

raised the question of the government's usefulness to the ruling class. As a front-page headline in the January 14 *Manchester Guardian* put it "Strikers destroy Labor's claim to govern."

However the opposition Conservative party does not offer the capitalists much of an alternative. Its proposals to sharply curtail trade union rights would only provoke greater militancy among British workers.

Millions of workers in Britain have seen the government's pay guidelines breached by the Ford workers and now the truck drivers. The lesson of what it takes to win a decent wage is not being lost on them. This is evident from the willingness of the NUPE members to follow the lead of the industrial workers and engage in militant strike action.

It is the workers who are organizing and leading these walkouts and rank and file actions who are forging the kind of leadership which can take the labor movement beyond its present misleaders in the unions and in government.

## Need mass pickets at SFU

By Susan Knudsen

VANCOUVER—Working Women Unite, an organization of women whose aim is to link the women's movement with the trade union movement, has launched a campaign here in support of striking clerical workers at Simon Fraser University.

The strikers are members of the Association of University and College Employees (AUCE) local 2, a union with roots in the women's movement and composed largely of women workers.

After playing a progressive role in the early 1970s by organizing previously unorganized and underpaid sectors, AUCE is now obliged to defend itself as a university union, a public sector union, and a union for working women.

It has been a cautious strike. Since the beginning of December AUCE has pursued a tactic of rotating and selective pickets rather than attempting to shut down the

campus. This has naturally resulted in confusion for those seeking the best way to support the strike.

Working Women Unite, an affiliate of the B.C. Federation of Women, has met with the union and begun that support by publishing a pamphlet on the strike and the superexploitation of women workers.

The issues of the strike are inflation and unemployment, with AUCE bargaining for a maintenance of real wages (9 percent plus COLA) and protection for its members from accelerating cutbacks and layoffs.

The university has taken a tough stand, offering no job security, no wage increase in the first year, and just 6 percent in the second. This could result in a drop of 14 percent in real wages by the end of 1980.

The University administration appears confident. It knows it has the Bennett-Socred government to back it up. Just recently that government ordered striking

maintenance workers at several Kootenay schools back to work and broadened the Essential Services Act to cover virtually every B.C. government and municipal employee, including university workers.

The University's indifference to AUCE's strike tactics has sparked a discussion in the union about broadening the strike through mass pickets of students and other supporters to shut the campus down. This type of action, especially if it wins the support of the B.C. Federation of Labor, could be decisive to the AUCE struggle.

B.C. Fed president Jim Kinnaird, following the government extension of the Essential Services Act, threatened to bring down the "wrath of the labor movement." The time has come for doing that now, by joining with Working Women Unite and others in building support for the victims of this new attack on public sector workers.





where we stand

## No answers--but they're scared

"It was our conviction... that the problem was deep seated, and that in the gravest sense of the term Canada was facing a national crisis, 'a time when decisions must be taken and developments must occur leading either to its break-up, or to a new set of conditions for its future existence.'"

Sound familiar? That's from the report of the federal Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism... in 1967.

And now 12 years later we have the report of the blue-ribbon Pepin-Robarts Task Force on Canadian Unity: "It is our conviction that Canadians are in the midst of a crisis which requires a rapid and determined response... a crisis of existence itself."

Twelve years of tumultuous change in Quebec. It doesn't require \$4.8 million and 18 months of studies and hearings to know that during that period the movement for national liberation and independence has steadily deepened and progressed.

Will that movement be stilled with more MPs, a new appointed senate, constitutional amending procedures, and similar tinkering, as recommended by the learned commissioners? Not bloody likely!

Of course, the P-R report pays lip service to Quebec's right to "secede." Words are cheap. The real thrust is indicated in the omissions. The task force can't even bring itself to recognize Quebec is a nation: like the 1967 commission, which spoke of "two founding peoples," it speaks only of Canada's "cultural duality."

The P-R report is unlikely to be taken seriously by anyone. But the task force's key function was fulfilled long before completion of its report. It was a key piece in the vast propaganda offensive for "national unity" launched by the Trudeau government after the Parti Quebecois election victory. It offered the illusion of a "debate" while providing cover for Ottawa's continued resistance to change. Quebecois weren't fooled; most of their mass organizations boycotted the task force hearings.

The report's only significance is not its specific recommendations, but what it affirms about the nature of the crisis facing Canada's ruling class. They are losing the struggle "to win the hearts and minds" of the Quebecois.

And the commissioners score Canadians for their insufficient patriotism: "Sometimes the country seemed to us a multiplicity of solitudes... tragically unaware of the problem of the whole which contained them all."

In the words of that austere guardian of Bay Street, the *Globe and Mail*: "A dog would sniff (the report) and think: They are scared."



# ...CUPW solidarity

Continued from page 1

"The postal workers have our support now and they will get it in the future," Fox pledged. "All the charges against CUPW members must be dropped."

The fighting militancy of postal workers shown on the picket lines last fall came through loud and clear. Toronto CUPW president Arnold Gould told of plans to circulate a mass petition throughout the labor movement to demand the reinstatement of all workers fired and an end to suspensions and other forms of victimization. He reported that plans were under way to organize a demonstration April 1, the eve of the trials of CUPW leaders.

Dave Williams, one of the fired postal workers, explained the only reason for his discharge was his activity as a steward in organizing CUPW's legal strike.

Norman Bedard, a former CUPW steward who works as a coder at the South Central plant, told *Socialist Voice* that Lamontagne's threat was aimed at people like him.

"I've been a postal worker for 10 years," he said. "I've always fought for what I think is right. He wants to get rid of anyone who raises objections about the Post Office."

During the meeting CUPW announced it had collected \$10,000 from CUPW members, to aid the Sudbury miners. The Toronto



Kealey Cummings (CUPE), Jean-Claude Parrot (CUPW), and Andy Stewart (PSAC) at news conference announcing February 14 demonstrations in support of CUPW.

CUPW local added another \$500 from its treasury and the rally itself—composed of a substantial number of postal workers, as well as steelworkers, members of CUPE, OPSEU, and other unions—collected almost \$800 for the Sudbury strikers.

A march to the Post Office district office in downtown Toronto followed the rally. The three to four hundred marchers chanted "Defend the right to strike" and "Drop the charges."

Addressing the rally from the steps of the building, Parrot again appealed for solidarity.

"The government better watch out," he warned. "With the solidarity and support of the labor movement we are going to continue to fight till the charges against not only the leadership but all the membership are dropped."

The Toronto rally was a strong kick off toward a February 14 protest being organized by CUPW to demand that members of parliament speak out against the victimization of CUPW members by the federal government.

The entire labor movement should rally behind this protest, including striking Sudbury and Murdochville miners, striking Ontario college support staff, the striking Puretex workers in Toronto and the striking maintenance workers at Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia.

NDP MPPs and MPs should immediately swing into action in the legislatures and parliament to demand an end to the attack on CUPW members and leaders. NDP MPs should use their constituency offices as organizing centers to take the protest into the community as a whole.

Actions like this, built and carried in the spirit of the October 1976 Day of Protest, can force the government to end its campaign against CUPW and withdraw union-busting legislation like Bill C-22.

## CUPE, PSAC back Feb. 14 protest

The Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) has announced plans for a country-wide demonstration February 14, St. Valentine's Day, to raise public consciousness and protest against continuing government attacks on postal workers. The action was announced at a press conference January 24 by CUPW president Jean-Claude Parrot.

Participating in the press conference were leaders of two of Canada's largest unions: Kealey Cummings, secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), and Andy Stewart, president of the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC).

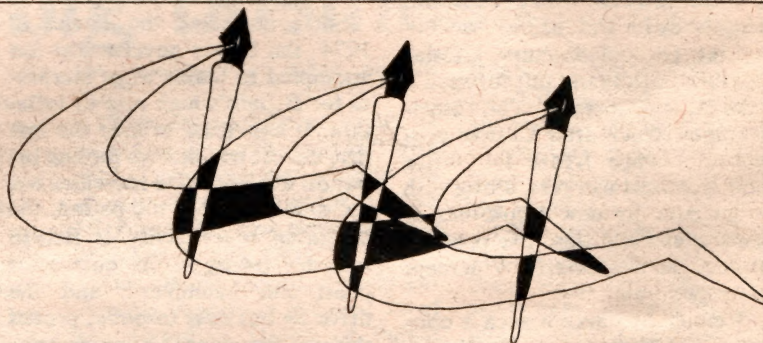
Kealey Cummings, speaking for his 200,000 member union, pledged CUPE's full support for

the postal union. He accused the federal government of "fanaticism" and said that never had a trade union been subjected to "such a malicious and damaging attack" as CUPW.

In the course of the press conference the three unions announced they were launching a \$500,000 publicity campaign to inform the public about the struggle of the postal workers. This campaign will include the publication of a brochure, as well as newspaper and television ads.

Details of the February 14 actions were not announced but it is understood that pickets of local constituency offices of federal MPs and a demonstration on Parliament Hill will be part of the day's activities.

## write on



### What about the public sector?

I agree that revolutionary socialists must take active and credible roles in the industrial unions. But if accomplishing this is at the expense of an active and expanding role in the women's movement, the lesbian and gay movements, and the public sector unions, then it is a disastrous decision.

To suggest that public sector workers are not at the center of the class struggle in English Canada and Quebec is wrong. Indeed it is the public sector unions

which are being attacked the most ruthlessly. The government, the media, and the police are intent on destroying CUPW and the postal workers remain defiant. Toronto's transit workers have been ordered back to work and politicians and newspapers rage against the public sector's right to strike. Recent strikes at York University, Edmonton's Parkland nursing home, and Fleck indicate the growing militancy of women workers. The public sector is well-known as a job-ghetto for women and gays. The attack on it is part of capitalist patriarchy's double lie: 1. people don't need

services (like hospitals, daycare, libraries) and 2. women don't need jobs.

Feminism and gay liberation theory are not meant to be tacked on the end of our theory. Rather they should be integrated so we can challenge not just an economic system but also patriarchal social relations and ideology. This is 1979 and Marxism is a science not dogma. It must be developed, tested, and changed when necessary; not simply preserved in formaldehyde for all time.

In solidarity,  
Hugh English



# 'The shah is gone, Americans are next'

By Harold Lavender

On January 16 hundreds of thousands of Iranians poured into the streets to celebrate the departure of the shah. The people wept, embraced, threw flowers at the soldiers, and pulled down the statues of the hated "King of kings."

But this is only the beginning, not the end of the Iranian Revolution. On January 16 a new slogan echoed through Tehran: "The shah is gone; the Americans are next."

Thousands of American advisers and representatives of U.S. corporations have been forced out of the country. The major imperialist powers who backed the shah are desperately searching for a replacement—someone who can turn back the tide of unrest.

Demonstrations numbering in the millions have openly challenged the authority of the new government and Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar, who was appointed by the shah.

However, if Bakhtiar is a weak force, the generals with their well-armed troops are more formidable. Until their power is broken the victories won by the people in the streets could be wiped out in a bloody coup.

News reports portray a developing power struggle between the Bakhtiar government and the Ayatollah Khomeini. But the outcome of the political situation lies with the masses in the streets who are determined to put an end to the institution of the monarchy, and not with Bakhtiar, the deposed shah's Regency Council,

or with Khomeini.

Throughout Iran workers are now organizing their own unions and workers councils. Committees of all kinds are being democratically elected in the cities and towns. In the countryside, peasant land seizures have become widespread. Journalists, writers, poets, and artists are expressing themselves without fear of censorship. The Kurds, Azerbaijanis, Baluchis, Arabs, and other oppressed peoples are beginning to assert their right to national self-determination.

Basing himself on that power, Khomeini has pressed ahead with efforts to establish what he calls an "Islamic republic." In a statement issued January 13 the exiled religious leader promised: "I will introduce very soon a provisional government to set up a popularly elected constituent assembly for the ratification of a new constitution."

## Constituent Assembly

The Iranian masses have already wrested great gains through their mobilizations. Hundreds of political prisoners have been released, newspaper censorship has been abolished, and the shah's hangmen and torturers have been left in fear for their safety. Now the masses are pressing forward to new conquests—a republic, which could sweep away the last vestiges of the monarchy and the shah's dictatorship, and a constituent assembly.

Immediate elections to a constituent assembly are necessary so that the Iranian people can freely discuss and debate the issues facing their country. Such an assembly must be able to debate and decide all issues facing Iran, not just a new constitution. Every party in Iran, every social layer of the oppressed—the many nationalities, the women, the youth, and the soldiers—must be free to participate in the national discussion and elect represen-



Youth injured by shah's troops is carried away by fellow demonstrators.

tatives of their choice.

The Ayatollah Khomeini has played a leading role in the struggle to date because of his uncompromising opposition to the shah. However, his program for an Islamic republic offers no way forward for the Iranian workers and their allies. A religious state cannot bring harmony in the conflict between the people and their oppressors. Either the capitalists and imperialism or the workers and peasants will rule Iran.

The religious leaders, with their extremely backward views on social questions, have no answers. Some of the mullahs have stated their opposition to the existence of "Marxist unions." Khomeini himself has said he is against the legalization of "subversive groups." Khomeini's anti-imperialism too has its limits. The Ayatollah has called for a policy of non-alignment (this could mean a withdrawal from the Central Treaty Organization and an end to arms purchases). However, in a January 3 interview Khomeini indicated he would be willing to reexamine relations with the United States without rancor "if the American administration stopped interfering in the affairs of Iran."

A return to Islam and a constitution based on the Koran would

not serve the interests of the Iranian masses. What is needed is a program for workers' and peasants' power. The Iranian Trotskyists have advanced just such a program:

- Release of all political prisoners; complete abolition of censorship; legalization of all political parties and groups; freedom of religion and the separation of church and state; and freedom of assembly;
- Complete abolition of the monarchy and confiscation of the wealth stolen by the shah;
- Nationalization of imperialist economic holdings; the natural wealth of the country to go to the development of the country and the improvement of the lives of the people;
- An extensive land reform under the control of the landless peasants and small landowners (one third of the peasants are landless);
- Recognition of the right of self-determination for Iran's oppressed nationalities;
- Measures to abolish the oppression of women.

The Iranian people are taking up the road to their own liberation. Canadian workers should applaud and support them in this inspiring task by opposing any imperialist intervention.

## solidarity

*The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran has released the following message sent by Anthony Mazzocchi, vice-president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, to the Iranian Mission to the United Nations on January 4:*

Gentlemen:

As an officer of an international union which represents more than 180,000 workers in the oil, chemical and atomic industries in the United States and Canada, I wish to state to you that I strongly oppose your military government's brutal and bloody attacks on the 38,000 Iranian oil workers.

I sincerely believe that the strike of the Iranian oil workers is toward the restoration of human rights in Iran, and I protest any reprisals against them. I am in full support of the oil workers' efforts to organize and defend their lives in face of the Iranian

military government's attacks.

I therefore demand the release of all the arrested striking oil workers and the 20 leaders arrested on December 17 now facing military court.

As a trade unionist, I further believe that workers anywhere in the world must have the right to help form a government in their own country which will afford them the legitimate right to organize for the purpose of demanding better wages and conditions of work. I therefore fully support the Iranian workers' struggles for political freedom and for a democratic government which will serve their interests and the interests of all the people in Iran.

Finally, it is also my belief that the United States government has for too long intervened unjustly in the internal affairs of Iran and that it should immediately withdraw any and all support—political and material—for the Shah's military regime.

# Iranian revolution shakes Mideast

By Harold Lavender

The Iranian people have not just toppled the shah, they have shaken the stability of imperialist rule in the Middle East.

Iran was the centerpiece of U.S. political and military strategy in the region, and a pivotal member of the anticommunist Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) defense block. In the 1970s the Americans sent billions of dollars of sophisticated weaponry to Iran. This military might allowed the shah to serve as policeman against social unrest in the Persian Gulf area. His troops helped crush rebellions in Oman and Dhofar, for example.

Now, with the shah gone the U.S. is concerned about the security of Saudi Arabia, the world's largest exporter of oil. Saudi Arabia is ruled by one of the world's few remaining absolute monarchies. The apparent stability of this regime masks extreme social contradictions not unlike those in Iran. As a token of concern, the U.S. government sent a squadron of ultra-modern F-15 planes to the Saudis this January.

However instability is not just limited to the Persian Gulf



region. In Turkey martial law has been imposed after a campaign of right-wing terrorism. The right was attempting to block the Iranian upsurge from affecting Turkey's Shi'ite Muslims. In Iran

the Shi'ites have been at the forefront of the upsurge. In Turkey there is an oppressed Kurdish national minority that is predominantly Shi'ite. A massacre in Kahraman Maras provided

a pretext for martial law directed against the whole workers movement.

The Iranian revolution is also affecting the Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel backed the shah, whose regime was the only one in the Middle East to openly collaborate with the Zionists. Iranian workers have refused to service Israeli planes and recently Israeli government offices were attacked by demonstrating crowds in Iran. Even the pro-imperialist Bakhtiar government has threatened to cut off Israeli oil. The Ayatollah Khomeini has explicitly backed the Palestinians. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) reportedly reciprocated by furnishing the Iranian opposition with arms.

If the Palestinian masses have reason to greet the events in Iran, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat is worried. He has responded by pressing even more urgently for a quick peace with the Zionist state.

At the same time other Arab states are realigning, most notably Iraq and Syria. A January 14 diplomatic report indicated Iraq and Syria were planning to merge into a single

state with one leader and one army. The move seems designed to boost their military and political clout against Israel. But it may also reflect the insecurity of the Iraqi dictatorship. It was able to crush a 14-year-old Kurdish rebellion in 1975 only by enlisting the aid of the shah.

These events reaffirm that the U.S. remains unable to find a stable bastion of support in the Arab world comparable to Israel. Some journalists have even argued that the entire structure of U.S. influence in the strategic Persian Gulf, which produces two-thirds of Western Europe's oil, could collapse.

Such warnings are accompanied by cold war style anticommunist propaganda. The January 15 cover of *Time* portrays a huge Russian bear standing over the Gulf area poised to devour the entire region. This picture could not be further from the truth. The Kremlin bureaucrats have no desire to promote instability in this strategically vital region bordering on the Soviet Union; still less in backing any movement that could stir up their Muslim population, the fifth largest in the world.



# Joe Hansen: 'an exa

By George Novack

Joseph Hansen, veteran leader of the Fourth International and Socialist Workers Party and editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* since its foundation, died on January 18 in New York City at the age of 68. Although he bore a sizable load of journalistic and organizational responsibilities up to the end, he had suffered from diabetes for some years and succumbed in a few days from infectious complications.

When Evelyn Reed and I were driving cross-country from Los Angeles to New York in 1965, we stopped at Richfield, a small town in Utah, attracted by a cowboy rodeo being staged that night. Some months later, when I told Joe Hansen how much we had enjoyed the spectacle of the Old West, known only from movies and TV, he exclaimed, "Why, that's my hometown!"

Joe was born June 16, 1910. He was the oldest of fifteen children in a poor working class family and became the only one to go to college.

The rugged life of this semirural territory in which he grew up made a lasting mark on his makeup. He had a sturdy physique and felt thoroughly at home in wilderness ways. He was a crack shot, a skill that was handy when he later served as a guard in the Trotsky household. He and his companion, Reba, whom he married in 1931, were most happy when they could backpack through the mountains and woods of their native state on their vacations, breathing in the pure air and hunting for unusual rock specimens.

How did this young fellow from a backwoods Mormon community become an outstanding Marxist, respected the world over as a political strategist and theoretician of the Trotskyist movement? From adolescence, he once told me, he had been intrigued by the personalities and promise of the Russian Revolution, which took a stand for the poor against the rich.

However, it was the campus of the University of Utah in Salt Lake City that provided the springboard for his political career. Just as it had affected thousands of other students of that generation, the Great Depression turned his thoughts in an anticapitalist direction.

There fortunately he met up with Earle Birney, a professor who had broken with Stalinism in 1933 and started a branch of the Communist Left Opposition. Birney, who later became one of Canada's most

## RWL message

The death of Joe Hansen is a grievous loss to all of us.

Joe Hansen was a revolutionary leader with the long view, who helped transmit the program and experience of Trotsky, of those who founded the Fourth International. Since that time he has been in the vanguard of applying this program to the new features of the world revolution. Analyzing how workers states were established without a revolutionary party, he also insisted that the detour would not continue, and that the working class was moving into the lead.

He lived to see this prospect become reality, and helped plan the Fourth International's turn to meet the important openings this brings—for striking roots in the working class, and for strengthened unity of world Trotskyism.

We will pursue these tasks with Joe Hansen's tenacious objectivity and revolutionary optimism.

Political Committee  
RWL/LOR

prominent poets and literary critics, convinced him of the necessity for a socialist revolution and the correctness of the ideas and program of Trotskyism. Joe joined the party in 1934 and never wavered in his convictions and affiliations.

He majored in English and edited the campus literary magazine, *Pen*. Before graduating Joe moved in 1936 to the San Francisco area where, as a party activist, he plunged into the chilly waters of maritime unionism, which was then going through turbulent internal and class battles. Together with Barney Mayes, he helped edit the *Voice of the Federation*, the organ of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, representing all the maritime unions. He also wrote for *Labor Action*, the weekly of the California Socialist Party edited by James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism. Cannon had transferred to the West Coast from New York following the entry of the Trotskyist forces into the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas. Joe took charge of that paper from Jim.

This was Joe's initial immersion in the mass workers movement, which remained the breath of his existence. He was the finest sort of revolutionary intellectual, who placed his talents and education at the service of the socialist cause and wholeheartedly identified with the aims and aspirations of the multimillions who produce the wealth of the world.

Within the party, Joe at first fell under the influence of a group dominated by Martin Abern, one of the movement's pioneers. This induced him to distrust the leadership qualities of Cannon and to keep him at arm's length. "I can truthfully say," he later wrote in the admirable summation of that experience entitled "The Abern Clique," "that I was never more suspicious of any man than I was of Cannon—and this suspicion was wholly the result of Abernism."

His Abernite origins did not prevent him and Reba from being chosen to go to Mexico in September 1937 to act as a secretary for the exiled Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky. Joe served in that capacity until after Stalin's assassination of his arch-adversary in 1940.

Trotsky preferred to have the cool-headed Joe chauffeur his car on outings. According to the recently published memoirs of Jean van Heijenoort, who had

been a secretary for almost 10 years, Trotsky felt closer to Joe than to any other of the American comrades who assisted the household.

He was on guard duty when the murderer drove his pickaxe into Trotsky's skull, and helped pin the assassin to the floor until the police arrived.

Joe esteemed the training he received in the company of the "Old Man," as Trotsky was called, and tried in every respect to pattern his own political conduct upon that of his teacher. He more than fulfilled that commitment. Once in a while amongst ourselves, we would smile affectionately at the immoderate rigor he imposed upon himself—and set for others—in pursuit of that ideal.

Yet this self-assumed responsibility was not a burden for Joe; it was a pleasure. The record of his participation in the revolutionary-socialist movement on both the national and international arenas shows how well he lived up to the standards of his mentor.

Joe returned to New York from Mexico following Trotsky's death and the split in the Socialist Workers Party occasioned by the outbreak of the Second World War. He became indispensable as a journalist because of the shortage of qualified personnel. Very few of us could match his literary output. As a member of the National Committee, he then served his apprenticeship in the central leadership of the Socialist Workers Party.

As a result of his discussions with Trotsky in Mexico and his deeper understanding of the stakes in the factional struggles of the party, Joe's attitude toward Cannon and his associates changed into its opposite. He came to appreciate Jim's exceptional capacities at their true value. The two men grew to be steadfast friends and intimate collaborators.

### Theoretician

Joe had so many accomplishments to his credit that only the most noteworthy of his contributions to the movement can be mentioned here.

Unexpected developments in Eastern Europe arising from the Soviet victory over Nazism in the Second World War posed challenging theoretical problems to the Fourth International. How were the transformations that took place in the countries occupied by the Red Army to be analyzed and appraised?

Joe was among the first to recognize that capitalist property relations had been eliminated in these countries by the end of the 1940s, giving rise to a series of deformed workers states ruled by bureaucratic castes.

He explained that while the Stalinist bureaucrats had restricted, repressed, and choked off workers struggles in occupied East Europe, they had nonetheless been compelled by Truman's war drive to launch a distorted form of civil war against the remaining capitalist forces, even mobilizing the workers to some degree to accomplish this. This conclusion accorded with the method of analysis of the government, state, and economy Trotsky employed in his last writings on Stalinism and the Soviet Union.

This basic analysis was further tested and refined in the crucibles of the Chinese, Cuban, and Algerian revolutions. In analyzing events in Cuba, Joe put special emphasis on the role of the "workers and farmers government" established in the latter part of 1959. Such a government, independent of the capitalists and based on the workers and peasants movements, can arise in the midst of a mass revolutionary upsurge. However, it finds itself in conflict with the capitalist property relations that still dominate the economy.

Thus, a workers and farmers government can lead relatively quickly to the formation of a workers state through the



With Leon Trotsky in Mexico.

establishment of a qualitatively new socioeconomic foundation (as happened in China and Cuba). Or, if the upsurge is misled or aborted, such a government can lead to a relapse into a rehabilitated capitalist regime (as occurred in Algeria). The concept of a workers and farmers government, originally advanced by the Communist International in Lenin's and Trotsky's day, was made an integral part of the founding program of the Fourth International.

Joe's incisive commentaries enhanced our understanding of the role of the workers and farmers government as a transitional instrument in the transformation of the state.

For the first decade, Joe followed every step in the progress of the Cuban revolution in the pages of the Trotskyist press. He grasped its historic importance as the breakthrough and pacesetter of the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere. In 1960 he visited Cuba, together with Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the party, and helped launch the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The last words he wrote were a message to the Young Socialist Alliance convention this December, saluting the 20th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban people.

While solidarizing with the aims of the revolutionary leadership and defending its achievements against U.S. imperialism and its apologists, Joe plainly set forth his criticisms of the manifest shortcomings of Castro's regime, both in its domestic and foreign policies, from the standpoint of the Marxist program. Numerous articles and polemics of his on Cuba can be studied in the just-published book *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*. It offers ample insight into the progressive thrust and contradictions of the Cuban experience to date.

### 'Old Guard'

Joe belonged to the "Old Guard" of American Trotskyism who had to endure the hard times inflicted by the cold-war witchhunt from 1948 through the early 1960s. He was a seaman during the Second



Photo taken in 1930 in Pioche, Nevada, where Hansen worked for the Bristol Silver mining company.



# Example to learn from'



The Militant

World War and could have resumed that occupation except that Truman's loyalty purge barred him and scores of other party members from maritime employment because of their political views and affiliations.

In late 1953, when the party leadership decided to send Joe to the upcoming World Congress in Europe as the person best able to explain the opportunist and liquidationist character of the Cochran faction in the SWP and our differences with the Pablo grouping internationally, the American political police directly intervened to deepen the split in the Fourth International.

Joe's application for a passport was rejected on political grounds by the State Department.

This prolonged period of persecution and isolation bore down on and disheartened many of our former co-workers. Joe was a tower of strength throughout those difficult years, especially in the bitter faction fight that culminated in the breakaway of the Cochran group from the SWP in 1953 and the split in the Fourth International inspired by Michel Pablo.

Joe never lost confidence in the prospects of the working class or the decisive role of the proletarian party in bringing about a socialist America in a socialist world. He carefully analyzed the phenomenon of McCarthyism and helped elaborate a policy to counter its threat.

Transcending his upbringing in a provincial place, Joe managed to acquire a world-historical outlook on all questions. He had assimilated the internationalism at the basis of Marxism into the marrow of his bones. He carried this into practice as an envoy of the Socialist Workers Party in promoting the unification of the Trotskyist forces that had been divided since 1953, and consolidating that unity early in the 1960s before the new wave of radicalization began. He helped draft the documents that provided the platform for overcoming the nine-year split.

The launching of *Intercontinental Press* (then named *World Outlook*) was one of the most important products of the

unification. From 1963 to 1965 it was put out in mimeographed format by Joe and Reba with the help of Pierre Frank to serve as a weekly news service to the international movement and provide its cadres with information and timely analyses of events that could help orient their thinking and activities.

If an institution can be, as Emerson says, "the lengthened shadow of a man," that was certainly the case with *IP*. The universal scope of its coverage and its exceptionally high technical and political quality have given it an enviable reputation in radical circles in all continents.

At one time or another Joe edited the principal publications of the Socialist Workers Party, the *Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*. He was an extremely exacting editor who detested shipshod work in any endeavor, whether in preparing a meal, repairing a motor, or polishing an article. I sometimes marveled at his punctilious insistence on checking a quotation or verifying a fact. He set very high standards for his staff. Yet he asked no more of them than of himself.

## Political strategist

Joe was guided in all his political work by the method of the Transitional Program, elaborated as the charter of the Fourth International while he was with Trotsky in Coyoacan, as well as by the Leninist strategy of party building. He was constantly preoccupied with the grand problems of political strategy in the emancipatory struggles of the proletariat whether these took place in Portugal, China, Chile, or an advanced capitalist country.

Joe mustered all the knowledge he had gleaned from his teachers in the polemics over Latin American policy connected with the factional alignments in the Fourth International from 1969 to 1977. He was most proud of these writings. His contributions not only clarified the issues at stake but helped set the tone of objective exposition in the debate. This facilitated the eventual resolution of the major dif-

ferences between the contending factions, which were dissolved in late 1977. He, as much as anyone else, was responsible for the fact that this most prolonged struggle of tendencies in the history of the labor Internationals ended not in separation, but in a better-grounded ideological homogeneity.

He did not feel that the task of unifying the dispersed Trotskyist cadres had been completed with the fading of the factional situation in the leadership of the United Secretariat. He looked forward to the next steps in that process whereby the comrades of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, who had refused to go along with the 1963 reunification, would be brought together with us in a single organization. He did what he could in these last years to accelerate this convergence, which has still to be consummated.

My own association with Joe goes back to the grim days of the Moscow Trials in 1937-38 when we collaborated with Trotsky to unmask these frame-ups to the world. He, as part of the secretarial staff in Coyoacan; myself as national secretary of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky in New York.

We worked together on the editorial boards of the *ISR*, the *Militant*, and *IP*. We also drafted countless resolutions and theses for the movement over the years. I had the habit of submitting much of what I wrote to his discerning judgment, and he rescued me, as he did so many others, from committing errors, large and small.

We had dissimilar temperaments but were of like mind in our conceptions of philosophy, politics, and methods of organization. We had learned from Trotsky and Cannon the indispensable necessity of teamwork and spurned the "star system" so rife in bourgeois society and among intellectuals that elevates considerations of personal prestige and individual accomplishment above the collective needs of the movement.

Joe was skilled at shorthand and a paragon of industriousness. We never worried whether he would fail to meet a deadline. This highly versatile man had wide-ranging interests. He was an assiduous student of Freud, of botany and geology, and of the latest developments in the physical sciences and theories of artistic creativity. His acquaintance with rather esoteric subjects and his skills in handicraft often amazed me.

Joe sometimes impressed people as being taciturn. Though he was convivial enough among close friends, he was not given to chitchat. He grew more and more reserved in that respect in later years, as though he was husbanding his energy for priority matters.

He came of sturdy stock (his father is still living at 95) and was physically vigorous and active up to 1965, when he suffered a massive peritonitis attack in Paris that brought him close to death's door. When Evelyn and I met him and Reba at the airport upon their return to the United States, we were shocked and

dismayed to see how frail his bodily frame looked. He never fully regained his health from that time on.

Just as we joined 40 years ago in exposing the Moscow Trial frame-ups against Trotsky and the Old Bolsheviks, so I stood by Joe's side when he became the target of a pettier but no less perfidious and shameless slander campaign engineered by Gerry Healy, leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party of Britain, who had broken from the Fourth International in 1963. The Healyite poison penmen accused Hansen of being an agent of the GPU and the FBI and of conspiring in Trotsky's assassination. They have dumped buckets of dirty lies week after week since October 1975, designed to discredit Joe and compromise the SWP and the Fourth International.

Healy's vengefulness is traceable to his rage at Joe's effectiveness in consummating the 1963 unification and preventing him from blocking it. He was infuriated by Joe's scathing indictment of his sectarian politics and hooligan organizational practices.

Joe remained unflappable amidst these unremitting provocations. He neither ignored the false charges nor became entangled in answering them bit by bit to the detriment of carrying out other tasks. Taking his cue from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, who were likewise victims of slanders in their day, he set subjectivity aside and took the occasion of Healy's vendetta to show its political motivation as the expression of sectarianism gone berserk and the bankruptcy of that type of anti-Marxist politics.

His articles refuting the allegations, assembled in an educational bulletin entitled "Healy's Big Lie," can serve as a textbook on how Marxists handle the most despicable attacks by enemies of their movement.

Joe was one of the 12 plaintiffs in the landmark suit of the SWP against government harassment.

Joe's reputation as a revolutionist remains spotless; the results of his 45 years of service are enduring. He was the trusted confidant of Leon Trotsky and James P. Cannon for good reasons. At the moment of his death he was one of the most respected leaders and influential theoreticians of the Fourth International.

We commend his career to younger revolutionists as an example to learn from and emulate. As he said in his message to the Young Socialist Alliance this New Year's:

"At some point in life, youths are confronted with a crisis of orientation—that is, to what course should they dedicate themselves for the rest of their lives? My choice was Trotskyism, a choice I have never regretted.

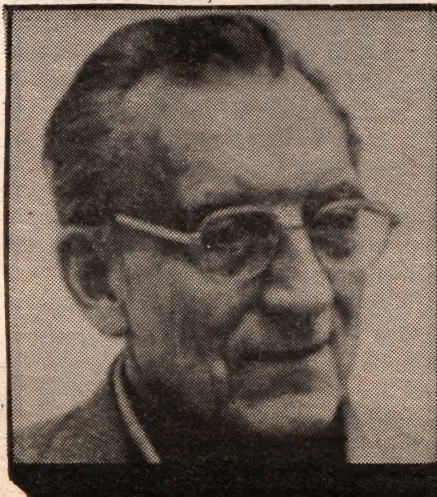
"I hope this will be the occasion for others to make a similar choice.

"For the Fourth International!"

"For the Socialist Workers Party!"

"For the Young, Socialist Alliance!"

January 20, 1979  
Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



**dynamics  
of the cuban  
revolution**  
the trotskyist view  
by joseph hansen

**Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution,' is available from Pathfinder Press, 25 Bulwer St., Toronto M5T 1A1, for \$6.95.**



# Cambodian people not Viet troops must oust tyrants

Statement by the Bureau of the United Secretariat:

Recent events in Cambodia have again revealed, in a most dramatic manner, the disastrous consequences of the nationalism and narrow parochial self-interest which characterizes the policies of the bureaucracies of Stalinist origin ruling over countries where capitalism has been overthrown.

To be sure, the attempts by international

## Debate

The fall of the Pol Pot regime under the combined blows of a Vietnamese invasion force and Cambodian insurgents has given rise to a wide-ranging debate in the international workers movement. Even among revolutionary Marxists a considerable diversity of views has been registered.

We are reprinting on these pages two analyses of the Cambodian events. The first is the major part of a statement by the majority of the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The second is extensive excerpts from an article by Fred Feldman that appeared in the January 19 issue of the U.S. socialist newsweekly *The Militant*, which reflects the views of the Socialist Workers Party.

*Socialist Voice* will be returning to this debate in subsequent issues.

capital and by demoralized petty-bourgeois intellectuals, to make a hue and cry over the "Cambodian tragedy" has to be vigorously denounced for what it is: a cynical exercise in political hypocrisy.

American imperialism, which is shedding crocodile tears over the lives lost in Cambodia, would have people forget that it was its own ruthless bombing of Vietnam and Cambodia, its own invasion of Cambodia, not to speak of its own mass murders over a period of years in South Vietnam, which completely disrupted the material basis of subsistence of tens of millions of people. Thus, it created the objective basis for the tremendous problems of food and health which have confronted the three Indochinese countries after their victorious revolutions.

The international bourgeoisie, which is now defending the cause of national sovereignty in Cambodia, is the same one which for centuries established colonial regimes over a large part of the world,

denying these countries not only national sovereignty but even a minimum of national rights of self-determination. This is the same international bourgeoisie which waged numerous terrorist wars, accompanied by the massacres of millions of men, women, and children, to uphold its colonial order; which even today is denying the national rights of peoples in all five continents from Ireland to Palestine to Southern Africa.

Likewise must be denounced the hypocrisy of the Soviet bureaucracy which dares to invoke the defense of "human rights" in Cambodia, while trampling upon the most elementary human rights of the citizens of its own country, not to speak of those of the Czechoslovak people and others in Eastern Europe.

As for that great "progressive feudal" ex-ruler of Cambodia, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, he has to be reminded of the fierce persecution under his rule, which included the killing of many communist cadres and leaders, a fate which Pol Pot and his associates only narrowly escaped.

But all this having been said, and while as always concentrating their main fire against imperialism, its henchmen and stooges, revolutionary Marxists cannot hide from the masses the responsibility of the ruling bureaucracies.

### A disaster

We are fully justified in speaking of a disaster. One just has to consider the turn-about in the situation since the time when U.S. imperialism's crimes against the Indochinese peoples mobilized worldwide public opinion against it, when the heroic resistance of the Indochinese peoples against these crimes inspired millions of anti-imperialist fighters throughout the world....

Today, the huge fund of sympathy built up by the Indochinese revolution among the toilers of the world has been to a great extent jeopardized. It is the criminal actions of all the ruling bureaucrats, which have transformed their differences of economic, political, and ideological issues into conflicts at the state level, first going to the stage of military conflict, and now for the first time passing over that threshold to the point of conducting a full-scale war in Cambodia, which are responsible for this disaster.

The Fourth International denounces the responsibility of the bureaucracy for these disastrous developments. Fratricidal wars and threats of military action between workers states have nothing to do with communism and socialism. They are completely against the interests of the workers and peasants of Indochina, China, and the USSR. Instead, they represent the coming to maturity of the poisonous fruits of Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country," i.e., nationalism and nationalistic messianism getting the upper hand in bureaucratized Communist parties. With total disregard for the overall interests of the international working class—not to speak of the overall interests of world revolution—each of these bureaucracies is now ready to defend its own immediate interests—in opposition likewise to those of the workers and peasants of its own country—with arms in hand against its "co-thinkers" of other "fraternal parties" in power.

Events in Indochina after the withdrawal of U.S. imperialism and the overthrow of the bourgeois semifeudal order confirm again that without the combined approach of internationalism and workers and peasants democracy none of the key problems facing the peoples of that region can be solved.

By following, over a period of years, its policy of "detente" with U.S. imperialism,



by giving only piecemeal aid to the Indochinese revolution, thereby prolonging imperialism's war of aggression for years, by concentrating a large armed force—including nuclear weapons—on the borders of the Peoples Republic of China, by supporting the reactionary pro-imperialist Lon Nol regime in Cambodia against the overwhelming majority of the Cambodian people, the Soviet bureaucracy created the framework for the unfolding of the ensuing tragedy. Under these circumstances, the leaders of the young and weak Cambodian Communist Party became utterly dependent upon the Chinese bureaucracy. After the Lon Nol regime was overthrown, the emerging Pol Pot government became more and more a puppet of Peking.

Having since the early seventies embarked upon a course of considering the Soviet Union as the main enemy, the Chinese bureaucracy in turn used its hegemony over the Cambodian CP leadership to whip up a systematic anti-Soviet and anti-Vietnamese campaign. It inflamed Cambodian nationalism and did not hesitate to appeal to the international bourgeoisie for aid and comfort against both the Soviet Union and the Vietnamese workers state.

### Real alternative needed

The Vietnamese bureaucracy could have made the outcome of this process at least uncertain had it presented to the Cambodian masses and communists an attractive alternative of a genuine Indochinese socialist federation. A federation in which the three peoples of Indochina would have enjoyed equal rights and all those forms of workers and peasants democracy which would enable them to control their own destiny. There can be no doubt that such a federation would have helped to solve the grave economic and social problems with which the victorious revolution was confronted in all three countries in the aftermath of the huge destruction and disruption caused by the barbarism of imperialist aggression.

But instead of following such an internationalist course, the Vietnamese bureaucracy transformed the concept of federation into a formula scarcely hiding Vietnamese domination and control. The Vietnamese bureaucracy's relations with Laos provide a striking proof of this in the eyes of the Cambodian masses. Under these circumstances, it was inevitable that traditional Cambodian nationalist hostility to the Vietnamese would again unfold and give both the Chinese bureaucracy and its stooges in Phnompenh the necessary basis for their irresponsible campaigns against the Vietnamese workers state.

In turn, the extreme terrorist methods of mass deportation and mass executions used by the Pol Pot regime led to widespread discontent, passivity, and demoralization among the Cambodian masses, thereby facilitating the irresponsible attempt by the Vietnamese bureaucracy to "solve" the Cambodian question through a full-scale military invasion, starting around Christmas 1978.

By opposing the invasion of Cambodia by the regular Vietnamese army, the Fourth International does not give an atom of support to the bloody terrorists of the Pol Pot clique. That regime was a disgrace for socialism as no regime since that of Stalin in the thirties has been. But the task of overthrowing these tyrants was and remains the job of the Cambodian workers and poor peasants. Under no circumstances can this task be given to the bureaucracies of other countries and their armies.

### Withdraw troops

Any further presence of the regular Vietnamese army on the territory of Cambodia will not only transform into a farce the claim of the new regime in Phnompenh to be a genuine Cambodian alternative to the Pol Pot tyranny. It will not only expose that regime as a puppet of Hanoi in the same way as the Pol Pot regime was a puppet of Peking. It will also strongly inflame Cambodian national feelings against foreign occupation and risk triggering off a long-term mass resistance—even in the form of prolonged guerrilla warfare—which under the present circumstances could make it easier for the Thai reactionary dictatorship and imperialism to prepare a comeback against the Vietnamese revolution for the first time since its crushing defeat in 1975.

The very interests of defending the Vietnamese workers state against imperialism make an immediate withdrawal of the Vietnamese army from Cambodia absolutely imperative.

Workers, peasants and other oppressed peoples of the world should oppose demands that the United Nations intervene in Cambodia.

The attempts to use Cambodia as a pretext for tightening U.S. military encirclement, diplomatic boycott, and economic blockade of Vietnam should also be opposed. The U.S. rulers, who brought so much death and destruction to Indochina, must provide massive reconstruction aid to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia—with no strings attached.

No support to the Pol Pot regime!  
Immediate withdrawal of the Vietnamese regular army from Cambodia!

Let the Cambodian workers and peasants freely decide upon their own government!

Stop the military threats and conflicts between workers states!

For a united front of all the workers states against imperialism!

Return to the Leninist tradition of genuine proletarian internationalism!

For a democratic socialist federation of the Indochinese peoples, with a strict level of equality!

Against the bureaucratic dictatorships, for the democratic rule of workers and peasants!

Imperialists, hands off Cambodia, hands off Vietnam!



National United Front soldiers cheer flag in Phnompenh



# Hanoi acted in self-defense

By Fred Feldman

What explains the line-up of pro-imperialist forces against Vietnam in what is often presented as a conflict between two "Communist" regimes? The crocodile tears shed by U.S. officials over the violation of Cambodian "independence and sovereignty" should be dismissed. The U.S. rulers showed no such concern when they invaded Cambodia in May 1970 in a war that cost hundreds of thousands of Cambodian lives.

And why has the Vietnamese regime—which desperately wants "peaceful coexistence" with the U.S. and Southeast Asian capitalist regimes—taken the risks involved in sweeping away a neighboring government? Has it, as U.S. and pro-Chinese representatives charge, embarked on a program of imperialist conquest?

In reality, the Vietnamese rulers acted neither out of imperialist ambitions nor from a desire to spread socialist revolution beyond their borders. Their goal was the narrow one of protecting Vietnamese borders against a tightening ring of military foes. Their great fear was the emergence on the Indochinese peninsula of an anti-Vietnamese regime in Cambodia closely linked to Peking with increasing prospects for ties to imperialism, including possible military ties.

## Washington's concerns

The Vietnamese leaders' intentions in Cambodia were defensive and not revolutionary. Nonetheless, a major part of the imperialists' concerns stems from their fear that a victory for Vietnam and its Cambodian allies will result in the extension of socialist revolution to Cambodia. This, they fear, may further destabilize capitalist rule in Thailand, where popular unrest against the military dictatorship is widespread and where rebel guerrillas continue to be active.

Opposition to the deepening social revolution in southern Vietnam, and to its extension to other parts of Southeast Asia, has been at the heart of the U.S.-Chinese alliance against Vietnam that has emerged over the past year.

The differing social nature of the regimes in Cambodia and Vietnam is key to the line-up of forces in the recent war. Both the Cambodian and Vietnamese liberation forces faced overwhelming problems in the aftermath of their military victories over U.S. imperialism in the spring of 1975. Imperialist bombing and invasion had shattered the countryside, killed and maimed millions, and packed the cities with homeless refugees.

But the Vietnamese and Cambodian regimes took divergent courses in trying to grapple with these problems.

After delaying for nearly three years, in the hope of reaching an accommodation with imperialist and native capitalist forces, the Vietnamese rulers moved decisively, beginning in March 1978, to sweep away capitalism throughout South Vietnam and to integrate the southern economy with that of the bureaucratized workers state that had existed in the north for two decades.

As a result of these moves, a workers state based on the expropriation of the capitalists and a nationalized and planned economy has now been established throughout all of Vietnam. As in the Soviet Union and China, the full productive possibilities of such a progressive economic structure are stifled by the undemocratic rule of a privileged bureaucratic caste.

## Cambodia's different road

From the very day it marched into Phnompenh, however, the Khmer Rouge set off on a different road that cut off the possibility of bringing the power of the Cambodian masses to bear in creating a more advanced social system.

Not only did the new regime oppose



Kampuchean insurgents

mobilizing the urban population in any way, it treated it as a deadly enemy. Cambodia's urban masses were immediately herded into the countryside, where they were dispersed into agricultural work camps. The virtual depopulation of the cities threw the entire society backward, away from the process that has occurred in Vietnam over the past year.

Large sections of the Cambodian peasantry were also forced to pull up stakes and move into so-called communes in distant parts of the country.

This policy had an extreme impact on the entire social fabric of Cambodian society. All higher and most elementary education was abolished. Literature and most cultural pursuits vanished. Freedom of religion was suppressed.

Child labor became universal, the hours of labor were extended, and the seven-day workweek became the rule.

The only way such a regime could be maintained was by the most intense suppression of all democratic rights, even by Stalinist standards. The life of every citizen was controlled down to the smallest detail by the government. An equality of poverty was imposed on the vast bulk of an already poor population.

Refugees poured out of the country in reaction to these policies.

Despite the sharp break that the new agrarian regime appeared to represent from the neocolonial past, it actually moved away from the only road to progress for Cambodian society—the establishment of a workers and peasants government and the institution of a workers state.

The regime tried to gain some semblance of a popular base by presenting itself as the most fanatical defender of the national rights of the Khmer people, who make up the great majority of Cambodians. Such sentiments had grown to a high pitch because of decades of imperialist domination.

Chauvinism against Vietnamese and Indian minorities in Cambodia was fostered, and violent border conflicts began with Vietnam and Thailand almost as soon as the Pol Pot regime came to power.

In its struggle with Vietnam in particular, Cambodia counted on the support of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. For two years, the Cambodians appeared to hold the offensive in this border fighting. Independent observers who were shown the border regions by the Vietnamese government were convinced that the Cambodians had initiated many of the conflicts.

The Cambodian government barred reporters from its border regions.

At the end of 1977, however, the Vietnamese regime began to hit back hard with its superior military forces. Cambodia severed diplomatic relations, and Vietnam reversed its policy of returning Cambodian refugees to the tender mercies of Pol Pot's regime. Soon, 150,000 Cambodian refugees were in Vietnam, and the Vietnamese rulers began to build bases of support

among Cambodian refugees and dissident Cambodian Stalinists in eastern Cambodia, where close ties with Vietnam had been forged during the liberation struggle.

## China-Vietnam dispute

The Chinese bureaucrats' heavy backing for Cambodia stems from the Peking regime's hostility to the Vietnamese revolution, which it views as an obstacle to stability in the region and to its alliance with U.S. imperialism.

The Chinese Stalinists sought to dissuade the Vietnamese leaders from bringing down the Thieu regime in 1975. And the overturn of capitalism in South Vietnam in 1978 brought shrieks of outrage from Mao's successors. They used the fact that the great majority of merchants and capitalists in the south were of Chinese national origin as a pretext for denouncing the revolutionary measures as racist.

The exodus that followed the expropriations has become the keynote of a U.S.-Chinese propaganda campaign against the Vietnamese revolution. The "boat people"—about 85 percent of whom are of Chinese descent—are pointed to as proof of the evils stemming from the overturn of capitalism, although they represent only a small percentage of Vietnam's 50 million people.

China's threats, and the difficulties along its borders, compelled Vietnam to make a sharp turn toward the Soviet rulers. Vietnam strengthened its position economically and militarily by joining Comecon, the Soviet bloc's economic unit, and by signing a 25 year defense and aid treaty with the USSR in November.

Imperialist hostility to Vietnam—which never abated after the defeat of the puppet Thieu regime—became more intense.

Before the social revolution reached a qualitative turning point in South Vietnam, the U.S. rulers had viewed the Cambodian regime primarily as a foil for sanctimonious human rights rhetoric. Carter decried the Cambodian regime as "the worst violator of human rights in the world today."

But after capitalism was overturned throughout the southern part of Vietnam, the imperialists began to consider the Cambodian dictatorship in a new light—as a possible buffer against the spread of the Vietnamese social revolution and as a military force for harassing the Vietnamese workers state.

Seeking aid against growing internal opposition and stronger retaliatory attacks from Vietnam, the Cambodian regime began to turn its eyes toward the imperialists and their neocolonial allies. The Chinese had no objection to this, since they were unwilling to substantially increase their expenditures in money and advisers, and since they were wooing the imperialists as well.

Over the past year, the Pol Pot regime began to devote increasing attention to opening these ties. In October, it invited UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to the country.

The regime also established diplomatic and trade relations with Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

In addition, Thailand permitted China to overfly its air space to bring arms and other support to Cambodia for the conflict with Vietnam.

The imperialist powers took note of these overtures. Australia began to move toward establishing diplomatic relations with Cambodia.

## Cold shoulder to Vietnam

While Cambodia was getting an interested response to its offers of collaboration, the Vietnamese rulers were getting the cold shoulder.

The December 29 *Far Eastern Economic Review* asserted that Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh "revealed in Tokyo that the US is now raising three new issues before allowing normalisation—Vietnam's ties with the Soviet Union, its dispute with Cambodia and the Vietnamese refugees. . . ."

"The most important factor seems to be an increasing Washington tilt in favor of the beleaguered Pol Pot regime in Cambodia. . . ."

Under these circumstances, the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the United States and China—and the growing hostility by both to Vietnam—may well have contributed to convincing Hanoi that decisive action was needed to break the diplomatic and military noose it felt tightening around its neck. Delay posed the danger that the U.S. "tilt" could evolve into direct assistance to Pol Pot, adding to the sizable aid the Cambodian ruler was getting from Peking.

The Vietnamese rulers carried out the overturn of Pol Pot in pursuit of their interests as a privileged bureaucratic layer. In this instance, doing that required the military defense of the workers state this parasitic caste feeds on.

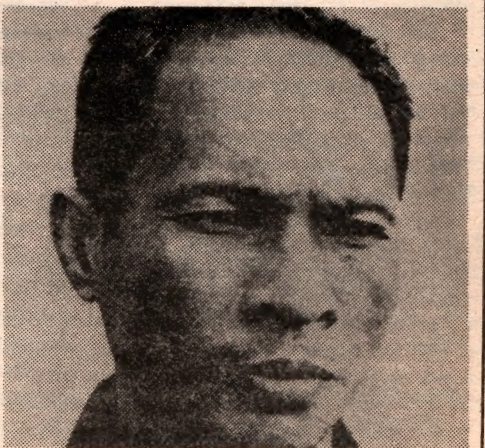
The events in Indochina demonstrate the criminal effects of Stalinism. The Cambodian regime carried the Stalinist concepts of totalitarian rule, hatred of the working class, and national chauvinism to the point of blocking the socialist revolution entirely and replacing it with a bizarre authoritarianism based on the labor of a militarized peasantry.

The Peking regime's criminal alliance with U.S. imperialism, its attacks on Vietnam, and its support of the Cambodian tyranny have dealt a savage blow to the world revolution. This deepens the isolation of the Chinese workers state from its real defenders and allies, the oppressed of the world.

And the nationalist course being followed by the Vietnamese rulers is not qualitatively better. In exchange for diplomatic and economic deals, they have declared their readiness to stand against revolutionary struggles elsewhere in the world in the name of "peaceful coexistence."

While the new government in Phnompenh has promised to end some of the most bizarre and repressive aspects of the

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National United Front leader Heng Samrin





Hector Marroquin discusses his case with worker in Brooklyn Navy Yard.

## Hector Marroquin denied asylum

By Judy Rebick

After a one year battle Mexican political activist Hector Marroquin has been denied asylum by the United States government. Deportation may very well mean death for Marroquin, who is wanted by the Mexican police for what they claim are terrorist activities.

Supporters of Marroquin's right to asylum are launching an emergency campaign to mobilize public support before his deportation hearing in early February.

raised by the Government of Mexico," only "that you may have committed serious non-political crime(s). . ."

Despite a mountain of appeals from labor, Chicano, Black, women, and civil liberties figures, and 300 pages of evidence documenting the threat to Marroquin's life should he be forced to return, the U.S. government prefers to accept Mexico's contention that Marroquin is guilty.

The struggle for political asy-

### Quebec defense

"For political asylum of Hector Marroquin in the United States," headlines a leaflet being distributed in Quebec by the Rassemblement des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (RJS—Assembly of Youth for Socialism). The RJS is associated with the Quebec Socialist Workers Group (GSTQ), a Trotskyist organization.

The leaflet outlines the facts in Marroquin's case, and calls on "all democratic organizations, political organizations, unions, and student associations in Quebec to act in an internationalist spirit" by sending telegrams of support of Marroquin to the U.S. immigration chief and the Marroquin defense committee.

Before fleeing Mexico, Marroquin was a leader of the student movement and a participant in demonstrations against police repression. He was hounded by the Mexican police and spied on by the FBI as part of its program to sabotage Mexican radical groups. In the United States, he continued his political activity by joining the Socialist Workers Party, U.S. sister organization of the Revolutionary Workers League.

Yet the U.S. government claims in a letter to Marroquin that "no issue as to your political belief is

lum for Marroquin is a struggle for his life. But more than that it is a struggle to force the U.S. government to permit political asylum to those fleeing "friendly" regimes as it does to those fleeing "U.S. enemies" such as Cuba and Vietnam.

Telegrams demanding asylum for Marroquin can be sent to Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536. Send a copy to Hector Marroquin Defense Committee, Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

## Cambodia...

Continued from page 9

regime instituted under Pol Pot, it will not bring workers and peasants democracy to Cambodia.

The Cambodian people face a long and difficult struggle for democratic rights and socialism, in which the overthrow of Pol Pot was only one necessary step. Their struggles in the future will be closely intertwined with the battle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants to replace the ruling bureaucratic caste with a regime of genuine proletarian democracy.

### Imperialist hands off!!

Workers, farmers, and other oppressed people in the United States should oppose demands that the United Nations intervene

in Cambodia. Such intervention—while unlikely given the present relationship of forces in Indochina and on a world scale—would only be a paper-thin cover for U.S. imperialist intervention. The U.S. rulers used the UN to mask counterrevolutionary moves during the Korean War in the 1950s and later in combating nationalist forces in the Congo.

And we must also oppose the attempts to use Cambodia as a pretext for tightening the U.S. military encirclement, diplomatic boycott, and economic blockade of Vietnam. The U.S. rulers, who brought so much death and destruction to Indochina, must provide massive reconstruction aid to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia—with no strings attached.

# Parental leave issue in Common Front

By Danielle Fregault

MONTREAL—Ever since the June 1976 Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) convention adopted a women's committee report entitled, *The struggle of women is the struggle of all workers*, the radicalization and organization of union women has been developing.

Regional women's committees have been formed. More and more women are adopting the objective of forming local committees to insure that demands specific to women are discussed and really taken up by their local union.

A clear sign of these developments was the attendance of 100 union women and some men at an educational conference organized last December by the CSN's women's committee on the question of paid maternity leave.

Such developments, while more advanced in the CSN, are also taking place in other Quebec union federations and in English Canada. In face of the capitalist offensive, women workers are increasingly responding. We need only think of the strikers at Fleck, Commonwealth Plywood, the wives of the Inco strikers, and the militant support given to them by different women's organizations in English Canada.

More and more links are beginning to be formed between unions and women's groups outside the unions. Under the impact of struggles led by the National Coordinating Committee for Free Abortion on Demand, the Quebec union federations have recognized the importance of this demand, even though their actual involvement is still very limited. A certain unity has also been established since the Parti Quebecois government issued its ordinance on maternity leave. While these links are still fragile and limited, they mark a step in the right direction.

Despite the PQ government's attempts to placate women by giving them a few crumbs, the gravity of the economic situation,

of unemployment, working conditions, and of life in general continues to increase women's radicalization. Union women's committees are one form that this radicalization has taken. It is a form of organization that partisans of women's liberation should promote.

Defense of women's demands is not a spontaneous phenomenon in the unions. Very often, we're told that our demands are not a priority or even that they don't concern the unions. Women's committees regroup unionists who have the specific goal of increasing awareness in the entire union of the special needs and demands of women. This kind of grouping allows the common elaboration of motions, a struggle against isolation and the integration of women's questions into political and union life and struggle. One of the most important tasks of such committees is the surveillance of collective agreements.

The next public and parapublic (hospitals and schools) sector negotiations should be an important stage in the battle for paid parental leave with full wages and

for childcare at the workplace. Women's committees in the public sector can ensure a conscious mobilization around these demands and, as opposed to the last Common Front, that they will not be the first demands dropped by the union leadership. Organizing to win these demands, and making them a priority will surely stimulate a struggle for women's demands in other sectors.

But we must organize to win. First, all unionists must be able to discuss these demands and the way in which we want to lead the battle.

We must also fight for the greatest possible unity among the three union federations. We must fight for unity that is not limited to the federations but includes all the forces who are fighting for women's liberation and who are in agreement with our demands. March 8 this year should be jointly prepared by the union federations, above all the women's committees and by women's groups, popular and political organizations to ensure the broadest unity and to build a real mobilization that will enable us to win our demands.

—abridged from *Lutte Ouvriere*



## Toronto byelection clash: NDP vs big business

By Dennis Lomas

TORONTO—At a meeting here January 19 attended by more than 200 NDP and labor supporters, Joe Pantalone was nominated to contest the February 26 Ward 4 aldermanic byelection.

The campaign in this downtown immigrant working class area is shaping up to be a head-

Dennis Lomas is a member of CUPE Local 79.

on clash between Pantalone and big-business candidate Tony O'Donoghue. A former Liberal who recently said he was joining the Conservatives, O'Donoghue ran on a strong anti-union, pro-cutbacks platform as a mayoralty candidate in the municipal elections last November. Pantalone is running on the NDP label.

The Labor Council of Metropolitan Toronto is fully behind Pantalone. "We are determined," Council president Sam Fox told the rally, "to make Toronto the most progressive labor town in

the country—we mean to do that."

"The political fights ahead of us are of such a magnitude," Fox said, "that they will decide the direction of this country. The NDP must become the active ally of labor in this fight."

One of the unions already endorsing Pantalone is Local 79 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, although it is not affiliated to the NDP. The local represents about 6,000 inside city and Metro workers who face wage restraints and layoffs because of cutbacks in municipal services.

Pantalone is well known for his support of a strong, active municipal NDP, running in alliance with the labor movement.

"Working people are facing a crisis situation with a 10 percent increase in property taxes, and with the TTC (Toronto Transit Commission) doubling the fares," he told the nomination meeting. He called for a public debate on

taxation. "Let the working people discuss how to pay for what we want. Let there be increased corporate taxes not personal taxes. Take the burden off working people."

Other speakers at the meeting included Toronto NDP aldermen Dan Heap and David White, NDP MPs Tony Lupusella and Ross McClellan, and Pantalone's running mate in the last election, John Medeiros. Jimmy Porter, president of the United Automobile Workers Local 439 at the Massey-Ferguson plant located in Ward 4, chaired the meeting.

This campaign is a step forward in the drive to make the NDP and labor a force in municipal politics. It comes following substantial gains scored in last November's municipal elections. Campaign organizers are urging NDP and labor activists in Toronto to volunteer for campaign work and contribute money. Contact Ward 4 NDP, 533 Gladstone Ave., Toronto. Phone 537-2033.





Joanne Kates, columnist with the 'Globe and Mail' and past president of the Periodical Writers Association of Canada, addresses 'Body Politic' rally on January 3 in Toronto.

# Body Politic trial polarizes Toronto

By Gary Kinsman

TORONTO—The *Body Politic* trial adjourned January 16 leaving Toronto reeling. In unions, workplaces, and schools across the city, gay rights were the topic of daily discussion. For most of January, gay liberation became the cutting edge of polarization between the right and left.

Reflecting the growing strength and influence of the gay struggle, Toronto mayor John Sewell spoke in support of "sexual orientation protection" at the 600 strong *BP* defense rally. Sewell's speech sparked a storm of controversy.

The *Globe and Mail* called Sewell's speech "Out of Order" and the Toronto *Sun* threatened to call for his resignation. The right wing responded quickly, fomenting an anti-Sewell phone-in blitz and a rally called "Festival of Faith, Freedom, and the Family." The next day a spontaneous show of support for Sewell's stand flooded City Hall's phone lines.

Crown Attorney Jerome Wiley, joining in the refrain of reactionary forces around the world, attempted to use the courtroom as a platform for propaganda that "gays corrupt children." The prosecution teamed up with such antigay notables as Claire Hoy, bigoted columnist of the Toronto

*Sun*, and Renaissance International's Ken Campbell. Prosecution witnesses treated us to such learned comments as "Basically homosexuality disgusts me."

The defense on the other hand produced an impressive array of witnesses reflecting the breadth of support for the *BP*. Witnesses who spoke in defense of the *BP* included Dr. John Money, a noted psychologist who called the article in question "a valuable and accurate scientific document"; University of Toronto United Church chaplain Eilert Frerichs; Toronto journalist June Callwood; and York University sociologist Thelma McCormick.

David Garmaise, spokesman for the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Rights Coalition, explained that the article entitled "Men loving boys" was intended to stimulate discussion in the gay community about pedophilia.

Judge Sydney Harris is now considering the testimony. On February 14 he will bring down his verdict.

Meanwhile the battle was escalating outside the courtroom. During the *Body Politic* trial, the raid on the Barracks gay bath resurfaced. After the police charged 22 men with being

"found-ins in a common bawdy house," at least one officer phoned several school boards informing them that some of "their" teachers were busted in the raid. The officer was reprimanded after much pressure but no charges have been laid.

Many trustees and teachers argued that by informing the board, the police presumed the men were guilty of the charges. The incident also touched off a debate on the rights of gay teachers.

Chairwoman of the Toronto School Board Fiona Nelson stated that sexual orientation was of no concern to school boards in hiring teachers.

A December 9 defense committee has been established to demand that the charges against the Barracks raid victims be dropped and that the offending officer be dismissed.

Lesbian and gay rights is winning more support than ever before. But at the same time the other side is gaining strength. The government and right wing, by focusing on alleged "corruption of youth," hope to build a more conservative social climate, to be used against all the oppressed. We must not let them! We must turn every attack into a counter-attack!

## Build from BP defense

By Gary Kinsman

TORONTO—While the verdict in the *Body Politic* trial will not be heard until February 14, the defense campaign has already demonstrated a number of critical lessons for the gay struggle.

By using the trial as a platform to argue for gay rights and gay liberation, the defense campaign was able to register many inspiring gains. Almost \$30,000 has been raised for the defense fund. A significant number of gay activists were mobilized in public action. The trial and the rally sparked a broad public debate that put gay liberation in the center of Toronto's political arena for several weeks. And the support of many important groups who had not previously defended the gay movement was won.

The raid on the *Body Politic* is part of a broader attack on gay rights. The Truxx bar raid in Montreal, the recent Barracks bath-house raid in Toronto, the continuing attacks on lesbian mothers' child custody rights, all signal a period of attack by the government, police, and right-wing forces against lesbians and gay men. The *Body Politic* trial shows that a broad public defense against such attacks can significantly increase support for gay liberation and begin to turn back the tide.

In Seattle and California, the gay movement in concert with other oppressed people was able to force many politicians to take a stand in defense of gay rights and to defeat antigay referendums. They refused to subordinate their struggle to liberal politicians or put the gay liberation issue on the back burner. By pointing out that the same forces behind the antigay referendum were attacking the rights of women, blacks, and workers, they began to show us some new directions for our struggle.

Despite the many strengths of the *Body Politic* defense there were some important weaknesses. The day-to-day involvement of gay militants was limited as was the ability of the defense campaign to involve more lesbians and feminists and to reach out to the labor movement.

Only Canadian Union of Public Employees Locals 1582 and 1996 sent statements of support to the *BP* defense rally. The lack of trade union support reflects the lack of understanding of many trade-union activists of the importance of the gay struggle. But it also reflects a lack

of work by the gay movement in getting active support from the unions. One of the strengths in the response of the gay movement on the U.S. west coast was the union support it sought and won from the Longshoremen, the machinists, and above all from the teachers unions.

The *Body Politic* defense highlighted in the most dramatic way possible the centrality to the gay movement of fighting for defense and protection of gay rights in all of its aspects. By fighting this attack against our rights we were able not only to win more support for gay rights but also reply to the lies and slanders of the right wing. By defending ourselves against the *Body Politic* and Barracks attacks we can defend the sexual rights of youth, sexual freedom in general, and the rights of lesbians and gays to be teachers and work with young people. We must also be able to reach out and mobilize the gay community, feminists, and trade unionists facing similar attacks from the governments, police, and the right-wing forces.

Whether the *BP* wins or loses, the struggle will continue. We must use the support and visibility we have won by the *BP* struggle to strengthen the movement for defense of gay rights, and for gay liberation.



## B.C. gay action

VANCOUVER—The largest gay rights demonstration in Vancouver history took place here January 11. Nearly 400 persons rallied to show their opposition to Anita Bryant-style bigotry. The marchers picketed for two hours at the Orpheum Theatre, where admirers of the "born-again Christian" television show 100 Huntley St. came to hear the show's moderator.

Organizers of the antigay, anti-woman TV show recently sponsored a visit by Anita Bryant to Toronto. Many of the demonstrators came hoping that the special "mystery guest" would be Bryant herself, so they could repudiate the leader of this right-

wing crusade against the rights of gay men, lesbians, and women.

The demonstration was mounted on two days notice.

Two of the main organizers were the Coalition against Discrimination (CAD) and the B.C. Federation of Women. CAD has been preparing for a Bryant visit since last summer when it printed 150 placards in readiness.

Spirited chants and waving of placards saying "If you liked Hitler you'll love Anita" made for a very militant rally. The action showed that should Bryant choose to bring her campaign to Vancouver, an even bigger reception committee will meet her.

# RWL

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE

Vancouver 1208 Granville St.  
V6Z 1M4 688-5924

Edmonton 10815B 82 Ave.  
T6E 2B2 432-7358

Saskatoon Box 7315

Regina 1843 Broad St. no. 16  
S4P 1X8 525-8026

Winnipeg Box 2005 452-5871

Hamilton Box 5063, Station E  
L8S 4K9

Toronto 334 Queen St. West  
M5V 2A2 363-9618

Montreal 226 est. rue Ste-Catherine  
H2X 1L1 861-3018

Joliette C.P. 1

Quebec 324 de la Couronne  
Limoilou G1K 6E6 522-4927

Sherbrooke C.P. 1593



Build mass rallies

## Socialist Voice

# Defeat B.C. public strike ban

By Greg Gigg

VANCOUVER—More than 1,000 angry workers rallied in Nelson, B.C. on January 23 to protest the current antilabor drive of the provincial Social Credit government.

The rally was the first in a series planned for eight centers in the province by the B.C. Federation of Labor in response to Bill 46 and Section 11—a new section of the Essential Services Disputes Act. Feelings run especially high in Nelson because the govern-

ment's attack on the public sector's right to strike.

The Social Credit government's attack on the public sector has two prongs. The other side of this attack came in the form of a 5 percent ceiling on municipal budget increases—barely half the inflation rate—announced January 3 by Finance Minister Evan Wolfe. The restrictions will mean cutbacks in social services and at-

tempts by conservative municipal councils to restrict wage settlements, and will likely result in layoffs of municipal workers throughout the province.

Directly affected are unions such as CUPE, now in negotiations for 15,000 of its 25,000 members in B.C.; and the B.C. Government Employees Union, whose master agreement covering 34,000 workers is up in July.

Speaking to a CUPE conference on January 6, B.C. Federation of Labor president Jim Kinnaid called Section 11 "a declaration of war against labor."

In response the B.C. Fed has outlined several steps. It is organizing a public sector committee composed of public sector union representatives; a series of rallies throughout the province to voice opposition to the legislation, including a Vancouver rally March 7; and a province-wide publicity campaign. The rallies are by far the most effective instruments.

One aspect of the rallies will be a push for electoral support for the NDP in the next elections.

The series of mass rallies can be used to help initiate and build a mass movement with the potential of ousting the Socred government and aiding the fight for an NDP government. The rallies must be extended, not only through building the eight central mobilizations, but through mass membership meetings of all locals, and central cross-union mobilizations of the labor movement and its supporters in smaller cities and towns. The Federation should call an emergency conference of its affiliates to discuss the Bennett government's "declaration of war" and prepare the labor movement to go on a war footing against it.

Such a conference could help mobilize the power of the major industrial unions—in particular the International Woodworkers of America (IWA), with its

50,000 members in B.C.—behind the public-sector workers. A successful fight against this attack on the public sector would give a tremendous boost to the struggle now shaping up between the IWA and B.C.'s forest industry bosses over this year's contract.

The union leadership is resisting such an approach, however. Instead of extending the mobilization of the union ranks in mass action, they are counterposing reliance on the ballot box, through electing an NDP government in the provincial election expected this year.

But the most effective way to build electoral support for the NDP—and to make its election an effective boost to workers' struggles—is a strategy of mass actions now that can help strengthen the relationship of forces in favor of labor.

When the NDP leadership held governmental office, it enacted its own antilabor legislation, such as Bill 146 which ordered 60,000 strikers back to work in October 1975. NDP leader Dave Barrett has yet to demand repeal of the Socreds' 5 percent ceiling and the Essential Services Disputes Act.

The thousands of union members who are members of the NDP have a special responsibility to challenge the NDP leadership to come out in opposition to these and all restrictions on free collective bargaining. And the NDP must be challenged to build the rallies in support of the public sector workers.

Greg Gigg is a member of Local 236 of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers (CBRT)

ment imposed strikebreaking back-to-work legislation on members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) here in mid-December. Bill 46 forced the school board support staff to end a two-month strike.

Included in Bill 46 was the proclamation of a new section in the Essential Services Disputes Act. The act itself was imposed after striking ferry boat workers refused to obey a government-ordered cooling-off period in October 1977. Under the terms of the act the cabinet may intervene in any strike or lockout it declares an essential service and forbid, restrict, or terminate the strike.

Section 11 adds all municipal, regional, and school district employees to the list of essential service workers. It represents a broad extension of the govern-



# U.S. solidarity with Inco strikers

By Stu Singer

VIRGINIA, Minn. — On December 15 a support rally for the Sudbury nickel miners was held in the National Guard Armory in Eveleth, on the Minnesota Iron Range. The rally was sponsored by the iron ore miners' locals of the United Steelworkers union whose 138-day strike ended exactly one year earlier.

Almost \$9,000 was raised from the union locals and in plant gate collections for the Inco strikers.

Addressing the rally were the officers of five Iron Range Steelworkers locals, two strikers who

Stu Singer is a member of USWA Local 6115.

flew here from Sudbury, and Ed Sadlowski from Chicago who ran for international president of the Steelworkers in the February, 1977 election. Sudbury Local 6500 president Dave Patterson had been scheduled to speak but had to remain in Canada when Inco finally agreed to begin negotiations just prior to the

Minnesota rally.

The rally opened with singing of the labor song, Solidarity Forever. Ed Sadlowski, whose campaign had been strongly supported in Sudbury and on the Iron Range, stressed the importance of solidarity in his talk.

"Their strike against International Nickel is no different than your strike was against U.S. Steel, Inland, and Republic. International Nickel is not some foreign firm on the North American continent trying to take away jobs from workers in the U.S. The same people who have been cutting the Sudbury miners' throats have been cutting our throats for a month of Sundays. The House of Morgan has their tentacles in International Nickel.

"So we want to pass on this message, 'their strike is our strike.'"

Iron Range Local 1938 president Joe Samargia, who chaired the rally, brought in another aspect of international solidarity with his remarks on the strike by West German steelworkers.

"We are looking at an inter-

national situation where U.S. miners, steelworkers, are trying to raise money for Canadian Steelworkers and I have a message from an even further area—from West Germany. A year ago when we had our rally in Hibbing two West German steelworkers came to the rally and presented us with \$3,000. As they were leaving that day we shook hands and I said to them, 'if you ever go on strike be sure to let us know.'"

"Well, last week they called and said 'We finally hit the bricks; first time in 55 years.'"

"These steelworkers in Germany are striking for the 35-hour workweek. 80,000 are on strike. So we truly have an international rally for three different countries."

The Sudbury strikers who spoke at the rally were John Geslin and Ed Cousineau. Geslin predicted a long strike "The grass will be green before we go back."

Cousineau, a 38-year veteran miner, said:

"Our fight against this multinational corporation is not only

our fight. The multinational corporations get together and get richer and bigger at the expense of the workers. So of necessity we have to band together and support each other morally, financially, and otherwise. With the kind of support we got here tonight, we shall not be moved. We will not be moved."

Willard Anderson, president of Local 2660 at Hanna Mining, spoke of the need to establish a common expiration date for Steelworker miners' contracts in the U.S. and Canada. Because of separate expiration dates, during the last year and a half Canadian iron ore miners were working during the U.S. iron ore strike and the U.S. miners were working when the Quebec iron miners went on strike.

A notable example of the international cooperation of the mining corporations is the joint mining venture in Guatemala sponsored by Inco and Hanna Mining.

Local 4757 president Bill Larson reported on the lengths his company, Reserve Mining, went to in its efforts to break up the union's support for the Sudbury strike.

"On Sunday we posted the leaflets about this rally at work. Monday morning I got a call from the Industrial Relations person. He told me he wanted them taken down. He said this Canadian strike is none of the business of our local union. 'We're not going to allow this on company property. Who do you think you are coming up here and putting things like that up?' I told him to go to hell."

Local 4757 collected over \$1,000 for Sudbury in spite of the company's opposition.

The largest per capita contribution to the Sudbury strike came from Inland Steel's Minorca mine, the smallest and newest taconite operation on the Iron Range with about 450 hourly workers. Local 6115 president Roger Klander along with a number of volunteers stood at the gate during four shift changes, all in about 0° F (-18° C) weather, handing out leaflets about the Canadian strike and collecting money. Almost two dollars per member was raised this way.

This activity led to very good discussions at work concerning international solidarity and the right to strike. With the U.S. Basic Steel Contract, which covers the iron ore mines, expiring in 1980, there is increasing discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the 1977 strike and what to do next. A victory in Sudbury will be a strong inspiration to U.S. miners.

